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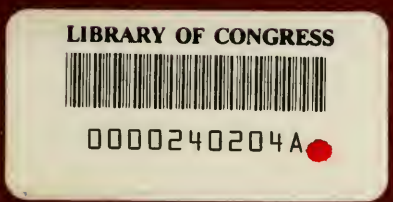

60TH CONGRESS } SENATE { DOCUMENT
2d Session } { No. 714

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, TRANSMITTING A REPORT BY THE COMMITTEE ON DEPARTMENT METHODS ON THE DOCUMENTARY HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, TOGETHER WITH A DRAFT OF A PROPOSED BILL PROVIDING FOR THE CREATION OF A PERMANENT COMMISSION ON NATIONAL HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

FEBRUARY 11, 1909.—Read; ordered to lie on the table and be printed

WASHINGTON
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1909

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MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I transmit herewith, for the consideration of the Congress, a report by the Committee on Department Methods on the Documentary Historical Publications of the United States Government, together with draft of a proposed bill providing for the creation of a permanent Commission on National Historical Publications.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *February 11, 1909.*

REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT

BY THE

COMMITTEE ON DEPARTMENT METHODS.

Documentary Historical Publications of the United States Government.

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

WASHINGTON, *January 11, 1909.*

To the PRESIDENT:

As directed by you, the Committee on Department Methods appointed the following gentlemen as an Assistant Committee on the Documentary Historical Publications of the United States Government: Mr. Charles Francis Adams, president of the Massachusetts Historical Society; Prof. Charles M. Andrews, of the Johns Hopkins University; Prof. William A. Dunning, of Columbia University; Mr. Worthington C. Ford, Chief of the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress; Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart, of Harvard University; Mr. J. Franklin Jameson, director of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution; Prof. Andrew C. McLaughlin, of the University of Chicago; Rear-Admiral Alfred T. Mahan, U. S. Navy, retired, and Prof. Frederick J. Turner, of the University of Wisconsin. Mr. Ford was, at your suggestion, designated as chairman.

The Committee on Department Methods submits herewith a report by this Assistant Committee, and also a draft of a proposed bill which provides for the creation of a permanent Commission on National Historical Publications.

We are in accord with the recommendations contained in the report.

Yours, very respectfully,

LAWRENCE O. MURRAY,
GIFFORD PINCHOT,
Committee on Department Methods.

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DOCUMENTARY HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *November 24, 1908.*

GENTLEMEN:

The undersigned committee was called into existence by the Committee on Department Methods in consequence of an instruction from the President from which, in your letter requesting us to serve, you quote the following paragraph as indicating the objects of our appointment:

> With a view to the adoption of a more systematic and effective method of dealing with the problem of documentary historical publications of the United States Government, so as to secure a maximum of economy and efficiency, you are instructed to consider the desirability of reviewing, with the aid of a subcommittee of experts, the whole field of documentary publications which consist wholly or mainly of material for the history of the United States, and framing a preliminary plan which will represent the deliberate judgment of historical experts and serve to guide subsequent governmental work of this kind into the best channels.

In accordance with this instruction and the terms used by you in appointing the subcommittee, we beg leave to submit the following report, dealing with (*a*) the course hitherto pursued by the Government in the printing of volumes of documentary historical material; (*b*) the ground covered by such volumes already published and the extent to which they serve the interests of workers in our national history; (*c*) the gaps to be noted in our historical record which might be filled by Government publications, and (*d*) the possibility of putting into operation a system whereby such issues might be steadily kept to a high standard of quality and to a scientific plan, orderly and rational.

We wish to make it plain at the outset that our object is not to propose vast and disproportionate expenditures for a subject which deeply interests us, but rather to make suggestions which are in the interest of genuine economy. We assume that the publication of documentary historical materials is a regular function of all civilized governments, and that the Government and people of the United States are willing to spend reasonable sums of money in such publication; but we believe that the way to better results lies through more carefulness in planning and executing rather than through more lavish expenditure. Our report ranges over many fields and discusses many desirable undertakings; but nothing could be further from our thoughts than to propose vast schemes for instant execution. Instant execution would be bad execution. We have endeavored to look forward into the future and to frame large plans, which can be executed in parts and developed by time and experience, after the analogy of a group of far-seeing architects who should frame large plans for the improvement and future development of a great modern city, but without expecting that all things should be done or even resolved upon at once.

THE COURSE HITHERTO PURSUED BY THE GOVERNMENT.

Like all other enlightened governments, that of the United States has felt the obligation to publish historical materials, as among the surest means of maintaining an intelligent national patriotism. As early as 1799 provision was made for the reprinting of the Journals of the Continental Congress. The ten years beginning with 1817 saw the publication of the Journal of the Federal Convention of 1787, of the collection of State Papers known as Wait's, of the Secret Journals of the Continental Congress, and of reprints of its ordinary journal and of the Journals of the Senate and House of Representatives.

In proportion to the resources of the Government and the country, the period from 1829 to 1861 may fairly be declared to have been the most active in historical publication. Beside spending $130,000 in the purchase of the manuscripts of the earlier statesmen, Congress provided in greater or less measure, directly or indirectly, for the issue of Sparks's Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution, the Diplomatic Correspondence of 1783–1789, Force's American Archives, the Madison Papers, the Works of Jefferson and Hamilton, the Letters and Other Writings of Madison, and, greatest undertaking of all, the 38 folio volumes of the American State Papers, the last a series of which any nation may be proud, presenting in methodical arrangement all the chief administrative papers of our first forty years under the Constitution.

All this constituted a creditable achievement for a young nation not yet rich. But it is distinctly miscellaneous. It gives no evidence, except in the case of the great series of the American State Papers, of a general plan devised beforehand and based on careful thought as to what was most needed toward the development of American history. And in the second place the relations of the Government to these publications, both in respect to supervision and in respect to finance, were most various, evincing no settled theory as to how government historical publication should be conducted.

For the period since the civil war we can set over against the various products of the antebellum period the most extensive and costly historical enterprise ever carried through by any government, the Official Records of the War of the Rebellion, published in 128 volumes at a cost computed at $2,858,000. It is a monument of which the nation may be proud, though doubtless it is needlessly voluminous in certain parts. But as to consistency and continuity of plan, we have only to remark that during the preparation of the work eight changes of system were, by Congressional or departmental authority, effected in the procedure of editing. We may also mention as illustrating the evils attendant upon a lack of preliminary scientific planning, that beside the well-known 128 volumes a series of not fewer than 79 volumes, composed on an earlier and faulty plan, was put into type and printed to the extent of 30 copies. These volumes have never had any use, except to serve as printer's copy for the more satisfactory compilation. Moreover, the process of putting them into type and printing 30 copies of each was continued for eight years after the publication of the first volume of the series which superseded them. A stronger illustration of the need of better supervision over the Government's historical publications, in the interest of quality and economy, could hardly be imagined.

Including this gigantic series, and the Naval Records of the War which accompanies it, the Government has since 1890 expended nearly three million dollars ($2,875,183) in printing documentary texts, calendars of manuscripts, and other historical volumes, an average of $159,737 per annum. In some cases full value has been received, but in others the historical worth of the result was unimportant and the volumes brought credit neither to the Government nor to the compilers.

The truth of these criticisms of the present system, or want of system, may be seen by a glance at the following table. It exhibits the titles and, so far as it can readily be traced, the cost of practically all the Government's historical publications since 1890.[a]

TEXTS.	
Official Records of the War of the Rebellion[b]	$1,881,821
Official Records of the War, Naval	205,314
Messages and Papers of the Presidents (10 volumes)	257,899
Records of the Virginia Company	6,942
Journals of the Continental Congress (12 volumes)	24,000
Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence (6 volumes)	56,431
Documentary History of the Constitution (3 volumes)	24,591
State Papers on the Purchase of Louisiana	2,282
Jefferson's "Morals of Jesus"	21,258
Journals of the Confederate Congress (7 volumes)	22,549
Treaties and Conventions	11,452
Treaties Now in Force	2,964
Digest of International Law (Wharton) (3 volumes)	18,623
Digest of International Law (Moore) (8 volumes)	56,181
CALENDARS.	
Calendars of the Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Franklin, Jones, and Vernon-Wager papers	22,501
COMPILATIONS.	
Annual Reports of the American Historical Association, 1894 to date (21 volumes)	80,354
International Arbitrations (Moore) (6 volumes)	53,368
Celebration of Establishment of Government	12,273
Historical Register, United States Army	11,993
Legislative History of General Staff	5,303
Alphabetical List of Battles	1,624
Daughters of the American Revolution	1,445
History of the Capitol	24,338
History of the Currency	2,720
History of Education, Contributions to	57,016
History of the Library of Congress	6,457
History of Public Buildings	3,484
Total	2,875,183

The amount of historical material thus presented is ample, and the expenditure has been more than liberal. But the list as a whole shows plainly the absence of a general plan. It is not only miscellaneous, but in some respects casual. It needs no demonstration that, with the same amount of expenditure, or less if need be, our Government could, by having a methodical plan representing expert opinion, make its efforts

[a] Most of the data are derived from the report of the Printing Investigation Committee of 1906.

[b] Publication of the series began in 1881.

and expenditures more effective, avoid waste and duplication, and bring out a product more useful and satisfactory to historians and the reading public.

The time is ripe for pursuing such a course. All the series mentioned above have now been brought to a conclusion except the Naval Records, the Journals of the Continental Congress, and, of course, the reports of the American Historical Association, which are annual.[a] The printing of the Naval Records and the Journals of the Continental Congress is costing about $16,000 per annum. These two excellent series should of course be continued. But this is all that the Government is doing at present. Its historical publication is at a fit point for making a fresh start. The ground is not encumbered, as at times it has been, by existing enterprises hard to reconcile or combine into any consistent scheme. The Government has practically a free hand, and should use this opportune moment to think out a rational plan for the future.

This plan our committee has been invited to supply. As an indispensable first step, it has made a careful review of the whole field of documentary publications for the history of the United States. First, it divided our whole national history into convenient sections, embracing all periods and all the chief aspects of the record—constitutional, political, financial, economic, social, diplomatic, military, and naval history. These were assigned respectively to the members most expert in their consideration. Each then prepared a careful survey of the special field assigned to him, reporting upon (*a*) the materials for that period or aspect of American history already in print, whether issued by the Federal Government or otherwise; (*b*) the volumes or series of documentary material which might best be undertaken by Federal authority with a view to filling gaps and making more complete the body of available material; (*c*) the probable magnitude of each such undertaking; (*d*) the relative importance of the enterprises thus designated as desirable, or the order in which they might best be taken up.

The preliminary reports thus prepared by the individual members of the committee were sent out in copies to all the other members for consideration and comment. A second general meeting was then held for their discussion. The results, so far as they relate to the existing status of documentation in the various fields of American history and the possibilities of its improvement, are stated in the next section.

The subsequent sections present (*a*) a summary of the chief recommendations made in the course of the survey; (*b*) certain general considerations which seem to the committee worthy of remark; (*c*) a description of the organization and method of procedure observed by the governments of other countries in dealing with their historical works; and (*d*) suggestions, followed by a draft of a bill, for a permanent Commission on National Historical Publications.

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[a] And one volume of the History of the Library of Congress.

SURVEY OF THE FIELD—GAPS IN THE HISTORICAL RECORD.

A. CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL HISTORY.

1. COLONIAL PERIOD.

Of most portions of our colonial history it may be said with truth that it is the business of state governments and historical societies to supply the documents by means of which the history of individual colonies, and local history in general, may be written. The United States Government has, therefore, usually left to such agencies the printing of material relating to colonial history before 1774. But there are two phases of colonial history that transcend the fields of purely local activity and come within the purview of the National Government. These phases are, first, the relation of the colonies as a whole to the British Government, and, second, the movement toward union among the colonies themselves.

During the colonial period the only central authority to which all the colonies were subject was the British Government. As the highest governmental power it corresponded in a sense to the Federal Government of to-day, and anticipated some of its forms, so that the history of its colonial organization and action is in many particulars the early history of our federal organization and action. Whatever material, therefore, serves to elucidate the relations between the colonies as a whole, and the British Government, or between that Government and its official agents in America, is legitimately a matter of concern to the United States Government, and the publication of such material, which lies beyond the scope of state, historical society, or private individual, should be made a national undertaking.

Formal and continuous records of the colonial activity of the British Government, comparable to the journals of Congress, exist in the shape of two great bodies of unprinted material—the Register of the Privy Council, 1613–1783, and the Journal of the Board of Trade and Foreign Plantations, 1660–1663, 1675–1782. But the British Government itself, aided by that of Canada and by the American Historical Association, has already begun the printing, in a series of 5 volumes entitled "Acts of the Privy Council (Colonial)," of those portions of the former record relating to America; while of the latter, the Journal of the Board of Trade, a complete transcript has been obtained by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, to which its issue in print may therefore appropriately be left.

For similar reasons, the National Government may leave at one side three other series which have a continental scope and significance and are important to the proper development of our colonial history, but are in a fair way to be executed by other means. A prominent scholar is understood to be preparing as a private enterprise a collection of all the British statutes relating to America; the American Antiquarian Society is dealing similarly with the series of royal proclamations, and the Carnegie Institution with the American proceedings and debates in Parliament.

Commissions and instructions to governors.—But the operation of the Imperial Government may be traced with almost an equal degree of continuity in another series of documents, only less important than the two records named first above, and this is the commissions, instructions, "additional instructions," warrants, and inferior commissions

issued by royal authority to royal governors of colonies. Although these documents relate respectively to individual colonies, yet since they were issued, one after another, by the same power, and drawn up successively by the Board of Trade or other official authority for the guidance and use of the royal governors in the colonies, they have a high importance for the general constitutional history of the colonies, enabling us to trace the development of governmental policy and practice on American soil. In a few instances the commissions have been obtained and printed by the States and by private societies and individuals, but the undertaking as a whole is too large for private enterprise and should be promoted by the National Government. Scarcely any of the instructions, etc., have been printed, though it is probable that a complete set of all these documents could be obtained. The work should be very carefully edited, not only that every possible document should be obtained, but that repetitions should be avoided. Many of the documents are but copies of similar documents previously issued, containing only a few variations. Such variations, however, require to be carefully noted, since in these changes lies the progressive development of the policy of the home Government.

Charters and constitutions.—The constitutional history of some colonies rests upon charters or letters patent from the Crown, or upon similar fundamental documents. A complete collection of these is a desideratum. If we do not place it in the same rank as the preceding item (commissions, etc.), it is for two reasons. The first is that the commissions and instructions, being more frequent and less formal and rigid, cast a more abundant light on the processes of constitutionl development, and that, though from popular reasonings one might infer the contrary, British colonial government was chiefly and typically government under under royal commissions and instructions and not government under colonial charters.

In the second place, we have to take account of an existing, though confessedly very imperfect, collection, Poore's Charters and Constitutions, and of the fact that a new edition has already been prepared and is all in type at the Government Printing Office. The qualities of this new edition are a matter of warm dispute. It is possible that, owing to disagreements respecting payment for the work of editing (disagreements referred last winter to a committee of the House of Representatives and not yet reported upon), it may never be published. Without expressing any opinion on its merits (though we may point to the dispute itself as an evidence of the need of an expert committee of advice on historical publications undertaken by Congress), we may say that no part of the original Poore was so defective as this colonial portion: that the completest scholarship would be requisite in order to determine, on legal and historical grounds, all the documents which belonged in such a series; and that certainly, in order to tell the story of development which it is designed to tell, it ought to include the whole series of letters patent for continental American and West Indian colonies and not simply those hitherto embraced in such collections.

If the edition of Poore, now under discussion, is not published, the committee would not recommend that the Government again unite in one collection the charters of the colonial period and the state constitutions of later times. The two tasks require different qualifications in the editor, and their association tends to produce an exaggerated impression of the extent to which the constitutions were derived from the charters.

Correspondence of the British Secretaries of State.—We have in the English archives, in letter books and letters received, on the one hand the correspondence of the Secretary of State with colonial governors and other civil officials in America, and on the other hand his correspondence and that of the Admiralty and the Secretary at War with commanders in chief of the army in America, and with admirals of the fleets in American waters. Both series are very extensive, especially after 1765. Probably not a tenth part of either has been printed. Both are continental or national in their bearings, not local or confined to one colony or State. Carefully composed selections from them would be invaluable for colonial history and for that of the War of Independence, through which they should of course be continued without break.

Plans of union.—The second aspect of colonial history with which the United States Government might legitimately concern itself is the development of the idea and practice of union and the history of colonial congresses to 1774. A series of documents relating to this subject, prepared by the late Mr. F. D. Stone, was printed in Carson's Constitution of the United States, but it was manifestly incomplete and is not readibly accessible. A new edition of all these documents, particularly of the proceedings of the Albany Congress of 1754 and the Stamp Act Congress of 1765, with such supplemental material as will elucidate the texts, is greatly needed.

2. REVOLUTIONARY AND FORMATIVE PERIOD, 1774–1789.

In one material particular the entire period since 1774 differs from the preceding, namely, that the Federal Government itself possesses most of the original materials necessary for elucidating its own history. It will have been perceived that we are by no means disposed to recommend that it confine its historical publications to materials which are in its own possession. That would be an unscientific course, substituting, for such standards as make for rational completeness, criteria dependent on the accidents of deposit or ownership. But in those fields in which we must expect the main work of the Government to consist in printing what it has, our task of survey and recommendation has been greatly aided by the existence of a systematic inventory in the new edition of Van Tyne and Leland's Guide to the Archives of the Government of the United States in Washington, of which we have made large use.

In proportion to the amount of extant material, the constitutional and political history of the whole period 1774–1829 has been more completely covered by documentary publication than any other. Many portions of the field have been so amply supplied that new governmental enterprises could not be recommended.

Particularly is this true of the first of the chronological divisions into which the period naturally falls, embracing the years 1774–1789. The new edition of the Journals of the Continental Congress, now being published by the Library of Congress, and the proposed volumes of letters from its members describing its doings, to be published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, leave only one important desideratum with respect to the constitutional and political action of the Federal Government in 1774–1787, namely, that the Journals should be accompanied by a body of selections from the papers of the Continental Congress. These papers, petitions, letters, etc., have been

printed to but a minor extent. They are of great importance as exhibiting more fully than the Journals can do the grounds of the actions of Congress and for the light which they cast on all phases of the struggle for independence and new national organization.

Professor Farrand's monumental Records of the Federal Convention of 1787 should certainly be printed by the Government if not soon published otherwise. If that most useful work were once issued, we should think that, since we already have Elliot's Debates and the writings of the chief statesmen concerned in the Convention, it would be superfluous for the Federal Government to project any further documentary publications in illustration of the formation and adoption of the Constitution.

The constitutional and political history of the States during these years is, with the exception noted in the next paragraph, best left to them for documentation. New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia have already provided for this nearly or quite as well as the materials in their possession permit.

State constitutions.—There exists a very active demand for a new edition of that portion of Poore's Charters and Constitutions which includes the State constitutions and the fundamental documents for provisional government immediately preceding them, from 1774 on. Everyone would be disposed to name this as one of the foremost desiderata. In a preceding paragraph allusion has been made to the existing attempt to meet this want, and the recommendation has been made that, in case the edition mentioned should not be accepted and printed by Congress, the charters of the colonial era and the State constitutions of the later period should be treated as separate collections. Since 1876, the point at which Poore brought his work to a conclusion, at least twenty-three new constitutions have gone into effect, many constitutional amendments have been adopted, and acts of Congress organizing or fundamentally affecting civil government in several Territories have been passed. Moreover, Poore's publication was marked by material omissions, such as that of the Iowa constitution of 1857. A new edition is imperatively required: the lapse of thirty years and the improvement in standards of editing have made the original compilation quite out of date.

3. PERIOD FROM 1789 TO 1829.

For the period beginning in 1789 more remains to be done, though here also materials have been published with much amplitude. For the doings of the executive and legislative departments of the Government, we have the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, in many ways unsatisfactory, but not likely soon to be reprinted, the Journals of the Senate and House of Representatives, the Executive Journals of the Senate, the Annals of Congress and its continuation the Register of Debates, and the mass of papers, partly of legislative and partly of executive origin, embraced in the great folio series of the American State Papers. We also have editions of the Writings of Washington, John Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Franklin, Hamilton, Jay, Gallatin, King, Calhoun, Clay, and Webster, and are promised those of R. H. Lee and the correspondence of Marshall. Among writings of statesmen, the great desideratum is an edition of the correspondence

of John Adams (little was printed in his Works) and of John Quincy Adams. Great abundance has been preserved by the family in both cases; it is earnestly to be hoped that we may some time have ample publication. The correspondence of John Adams, Marshall, James A. Bayard, and the Federal Pinckneys would be of great value in enabling us to understand the major portion of the Federalist party, as distinguished from the Hamiltonian wing, now so much better known.

The first three volumes of the Executive Journals of the Senate, covering the period 1789–1829, were published many years ago (1829) in a comparatively small edition, and are not easy to procure. The historical importance of these journals, exhibiting the action of the Senate on all appointments and on all treaties, is very great. In view of this and of the large editions of public documents commonly issued, it is very unfortunate that the next 13 volumes, extending to 1869 and published in 1887, were printed in only 100 copies, and that volumes 17 to 29, covering the years 1869–1891 and published in 1901, were printed in an edition of only 250. The result is that full sets of the Executive Journals of the Senate can not now be completed for less than $250. But it is probably too soon to suggest an immediate reissue, unless the electrotype plates from Volume IV on are still in existence.

Debates.—The records of the debates in the earlier Congresses, as comprised in the Annals of Congress, leave much to be desired. It is not probable that we could much improve on the Register of Debates for the ensuing period, 1825–1837. Gales & Seaton, the publishers of the Register, finding that venture successful, proceeded in 1834 to begin the filling of the gap from 1789 by the preparation and issue of the Annals of Congress, which was completed to 1824 in 42 volumes. From October, 1800, when their newspaper, the National Intelligencer, was founded, they seem to have relied entirely on the excellent reports which had appeared in its columns. During those years that newspaper had acquired such a reputation as a standard reporter of Congressional proceedings that, until the contrary is shown, we may assume that nothing better can be done than to leave the Annals in its present position of accepted authority for the debates of 1800–1824. For the debates of the House from its beginning in 1789 to March 8, 1790, the Annals merely copies Thomas Lloyd's Congressional Register (New York, 1789–1790, 4 volumes), whose shorthand reports are ample and can not be bettered. The same is true for the House debate on Jay's treaty in March and April, 1796, when the compilers could copy from the two volumes (Philadelphia, 1796) in which that debate was fully reported. But for other parts of the period from March, 1790, to May, 1800, it is much less true. For those years, with the exception named, Joseph Gales compiled his record from the files of New York and Philadelphia newspapers. Whether further use of newspapers of the time would add much is not yet known. Meanwhile it is impossible to recommend anything else, so far as House debates are concerned, than that we should rest content with what is given us in the Annals.

It is impossible to accept with equal contentment our situation with respect to the earlier years' discussions in the Senate. From April, 1789, to February 20, 1794, and, indeed, with a single brief exception, till December 11, 1795, the Senate sat with closed doors. The news-

papers contained no report of its debates. The Annals have only matter derived from the Journals. With very slight exceptions, our only knowledge of debates in the Senate during these years is derived from the record of them kept during two sessions (April 24, 1789, to March 3, 1791) by Senator William Maclay, of Pennsylvania, whose Sketches of Debate (Harrisburg, 1880; New York, 1890) give us only a partial and partisan view. It is unfortunate that we have nothing better, and for the next few years nothing at all. Attempts should be made to glean and publish all other existing diaries or records.

State Trials.—But in the field of the judiciary it is possible to suggest a publication (not confined, it is true, to the years 1783–1829) which would be of great use not only to historical scholars but to lawyers and public men—a collection of the State Trials analogous to the English series known by that name. All who have used the latter know how important and interesting it is to English constitutional and political history. The term "state trials" not having an exact legal significance, a series so entitled might be given various extents. But it should certainly include (1) all trials of impeachments (seven in number) before the United States Senate, (2) all important cases in the United States courts in which men were tried for offenses against the Government or against public peace and order (e. g., the sedition trials, Burr, Vallandigham, Surratt), and (3) all treason trials in the courts of the States.

Of the trials included in these three classes very few are in the most generally accessible body of judicial reports, those of the Supreme Court of the United States; and indeed it is usually the reports of the trials in the courts of first instance that are most interesting to the student of history. Most of the state trials exist only in separate books or pamphlets so hard to procure that very few historical scholars can hope to possess, or even to have near them, so complete a collection as is above suggested.

Probably, however, we ought to adopt a broader construction of the phrase "state trials," and to include the most important impeachment trials in the States; prosecutions related to international politics, like those of Smith and Ogden in the Miranda affair, or McLeod in that of the *Caroline;* cases involving the fundamental relations of state and nation, like that of Gen. Michael Bright in 1809 or Garland's case in 1867; cases of civilians tried by military tribunals, like Milligan's case; and the various fugitive-slave cases—*Amistad*, Prigg, Sims, Burns, etc. After including all that is important of such material the bulk of the proposed collection would probably not be greater than 25 octavo volumes. The advice of representatives of the Federal judiciary and of the bar should be invoked in shaping and executing such a series.

4. PERIOD FROM 1829 TO 1861.

Printed materials.—The material now available in print for this portion of our constitutional and political history is extensive and various. First in importance among printed sources are the reports of debates in Congress, which from 1825 to 1837 are to be found in Gales & Seaton's Register of Debates, and from 1833 to 1873 in the 108 volumes of the Congressional Globe. These two series, though not very conveniently arranged, are widely distributed in tolerably complete sets, and there is no present need of reprints.

The same thing may be said of the important judicial records; the decisions of the Supreme Court are available in the original reports, in two private reprints, and many of them in the condensed series of Curtis and Miller. The official Opinions of the Attorneys-General of the United States are likewise sufficiently available. The reports of the circuit and district courts during this period are also to be found in the private publication known as Federal Cases, which is still in print.

The executive records of the period are on a different footing. Richardson's Messages and Papers of the Presidents, indeed, though not satisfactory, will answer for a time. But the communications of the heads of departments and their subordinates (and likewise the reports of the committees of the two Houses) are to be found only in that reservoir of unorganized matter, the Congressional documents, which make up some thousands of volumes, crudely arranged, and with some duplications and no annual indexes. This series is arranged in eight subdivisions for each session of Congress, namely: Senate Journals; Senate (Committee) Reports; Senate Documents (or Senate Executive Documents); Senate Miscellaneous; House Journals; House Reports; House Documents; House Miscellaneous. B. P. Poore's Descriptive Catalogue of the Government Publications of the United States is a crude index to this whole series down to 1881, and the Government has also printed a list of these publications, from the Fifteenth to the Fifty-second Congress, inclusive, under the title "Tables of and Annotated Index to the Congressional Series of United States Public Documents" (Washington, 1902).

In these documents of Congress is buried an immense mass of important material on all fields of American history, such as committee reports on all the great questions that have attracted the attention of Congress; memorials and proceedings of commissions on state boundaries; petitions; reports on public works; economic material, such as the reports on commerce and navigation, beginning in 1821; on commercial relations, beginning in 1855; the census publications of 1830 to 1860; reports on agriculture, beginning in 1841; reports of the Commissioner of Pensions; of the Patent Office, beginning in 1837; of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, beginning in 1825; and, of course, the reports of the heads of the great executive departments. No material casts more light on the actual workings of the Federal Government and the growth of an administrative system; but few libraries have unbroken sets covering the whole period from 1829 to 1861, and it is now very difficult to make up anything like a complete series.

Manuscript materials.—Some materials of the same nature as those printed in the Congressional documents, particularly reports of committees, still remain in manuscript. Among such materials listed in the Van Tyne and Leland Guide to the Archives, the more important are correspondence and rulings on public lands and land grants; military and naval reports and correspondence; controversies with the States and correspondence thereon. But the most important documents still remaining unprinted are of two classes—the papers of Presidents and other public men, especially those now in the Library of Congress, and diplomatic correspondence and records. The latter are dealt with in a subsequent section of this report.

The Government possesses papers of Andrew Jackson, Martin Van Buren, James K. Polk, Franklin Pierce, Jefferson Davis, Daniel Web-

ster, Thomas Corwin, and Salmon P. Chase. In general these collections have no such fullness and importance as those of the older generation of American statesmen; and the most important document of all, the Polk Diary, is not in the possession of the Government.

From the last edition of the Van Tyne and Leland Guide to the Archives it appears that there are enormous files of correspondence and orders in the Navy and War Departments, some of which must certainly have historical significance, and very little of which has ever been printed. Similar series of letters can be found in the Treasury Department (especially a file of letters from the Secretary to the President), in the Indian Office, and in the Land Office. The documents relating to the intercourse between the Federal Government and the territorial officials have been very little used as yet by historians. In many fields it is evident that the archives of the Government abound in unprinted material, examination of which will be necessary for the future historian.

Writings of statesmen.—One of the most obvious undertakings for this period is to make public, as has been done so largely for the preceding period, the letters and other writings of the group of statesmen whose activity falls chiefly between 1829 and 1861. The need of doing this in the case of John Quincy Adams has already been mentioned. The Library of Congress possesses ample materials for doing it in the case of Jackson. A collection of his correspondence would be of the highest importance and interest and is strongly to be recommended for early publication. Van Buren could next be undertaken, though with means less complete. The Webster, Corwin, Polk, Pierce, Davis, and Chase papers, now in the Library of Congress, are not so strong in letters of the men themselves as in letters to them. But many more of the former could usually be obtained from other sources for such publications. Furthermore, many of these collections are rich in letters to statesmen of a kind which constitutes one of the most important types of historical sources, namely, the confidential and personal statements of men on the inside of public life; and selections of the letters written *to* the statesman in question should always be included in any publication of his correspondence. As to extent, from two to five octavo volumes would apparently be necessary for the writings and correspondence of each of the statesmen above named—a somewhat greater number in the cases of Jackson and Van Buren.

Reprints from the Congressional documents.—Of material already printed which ought to appear in more accessible form, the Congressional documents furnish a great reservoir. Leaving out of account as already available the Messages and Papers of the Presidents and the annual reports of the heads of the offices as too bulky for reprint, in view of the fact that a good many copies of them are disseminated through the country, what is most needed is a reprint of the most valuable of the occasional publications. Of such documents many are of great significance, such as general reports and correspondence on internal improvements (leaving out of consideration the numerous bulky reports on particular public works), on the various phases of Indian affairs, on contested state boundaries, and on the administration of the public lands. In any such work search should also be made among the reports and correspondence which remain in manuscript, but which may now be of importance.

But such a series can not be satisfactorily considered in the field of constitutional and political history alone. Materials on the other phases of American history embraced in this report lie in similar abundance in these Congressional documents, and call for similar treatment. The most convenient method would be to make up a great series on the general plan of the American State Papers. That notable collection, which did so much credit to its makers and has been so immensely useful to historical writers, covers the period from 1789 to 1829 in 38 folio volumes, arranged in series, as follows: Foreign Relations, 1789–1828 (6 volumes); Indian Affairs, 1789–1827 (2 volumes); Finance, 1789–1828 (5 volumes); Commerce and Navigation, 1789–1823 (2 volumes); Military Affairs, 1789–1838 (7 volumes); Naval Affairs, 1794–1836 (4 volumes); Post-Office Department, 1790–1833 (1 volume); Public Lands, 1789–1837 (8 volumes); Claims, 1790–1823 (2 volumes); Miscellaneous, 1789–1823 (2 volumes).

In recommending strongly the inception of a great series of National State Papers which should continue to 1861 and eventually to later dates the good work done for the earlier period by the American State Papers, we should expect that nearly all the categories of the earlier series should be retained, and that the most important of the Congressional and Executive documents of the years 1829 to 1861 relating to Foreign Relations, Military Affairs, Naval Affairs, Indians, Finance, Commerce and Navigation, and Public Lands should be collected into series bearing those designations. Several of these subdivisions can be appropriately considered at greater length in later sections of this report. But while describing at this point in its entire scope the project which we recommend, a project much exceeding the bounds of a merely constitutional and political history, we wish further to emphasize the fact that it ought also to be so shaped as greatly to exceed the categories deemed appropriate eighty years ago. Time has enlarged the scope of the Federal Government and its interests, and the scheme of series should be widened to correspond. The growth of our industrial organization and of our system of transportation, and the creation of the Department of Commerce and Labor and that of Agriculture, are illustrations of what is meant. The great series recommended should have, in order to meet the historical needs of the present time, besides the older categories, its sections devoted to Geographical Papers, to Agriculture and other extractive industries, to Manufactures, to Labor and Industrial Organization, to Population and Social Organization, and, to return to constitutional history, a series embracing the governmental papers on State Boundaries and Federal Relations with the States and Territories.

In such series should be embraced not alone the Congressional documents but a comprehensive body of selections from the departmental correspondence at Washington, with special reference to the letters exchanged with the President, the heads of other departments, and the chairmen of the chief committees of Congress. The immense value of such material is apparent to any intelligent reader of Van Tyne and Leland's account of the Treasury Department (pp. 59 et seq.), the Interior Department (pp. 201 et seq.), and the Department of Justice (pp. 138 et seq.). It is indispensable to a clear understanding of the actual working of our Government. It would on the one hand throw light on the obscure places in the origin of many policies and many laws, and it would on the other hand make accessible the means

of understanding the real relations of executive and legislature in our system.

To this comprehensive project of National State Papers we recur in later sections, the diplomatic series being one especially worthy of early attention and capable of being so worked out as to serve as a model for the others. We feel sure that a reasonably uniform plan would be of advantage to all the series, and therefore have suggested a general title and organization. Its magnitude can not be estimated without further and detailed research. Perhaps indeed the most convenient method would be to fix upon a certain number of volumes and then select material to fill them. The American State Papers, covering about forty years, from 1789 to 1828, is in 38 volumes. A similar compilation for the next thirty-two years, with regard to the large stores of manuscript material, would be cramped in 60 volumes of the same size as its predecessor, or a hundred volumes of more easily manageable dimensions.

But the execution of this project would extend over many years; the present concern is to plan deliberately and with a sufficiently wide outlook.

5. PERIOD FROM 1861 TO 1908.

Under this heading we consider the political and constitutional material relating particularly to the civil war and reconstruction, practically not going beyond 1885.

As compared with the extraordinary completeness with which the military records of the war have been gathered into serviceable forms, the neglect of the political and constitutional records is astonishing. McPherson's unofficial compilation, History of the Rebellion, now antiquated and out of print, is practically the only collection that can be depended upon for the documentary history of so important a policy, for example, as that of emancipation and abolition. Great quantities of additional matter are scattered through the documents printed by Congress, and a certain amount comes incidentally within the scope of the Official Records of the War. The works of Lincoln, Chase, Seward, Sumner, and others contain much valuable matter, and doubtless there is more in manuscript in some of the executive departments. We should recommend, first, a collection on—

Emancipation and abolition.—This should embrace legislative, executive, and judicial papers. The legislative should include the acts of Congress and of state legislatures, reports of committees, and some bills. The executive should include the official orders and recommendations of the President and the heads of departments, with selections from the interdepartmental correspondence. The judicial should include a chronological list of the federal cases, with the leading opinions in full and the remainder in summary. With the series might properly be included the important portion of the "Slave Trade and Colonization Papers," from 1854 to 1872, preserved in the Department of the Interior and described by Van Tyne and Leland (p. 202).

Confiscation.—This subject overlaps in some measure that just considered, and should be treated on the whole in the same manner. The bulk of the material would greatly exceed that touching emancipation and abolition. For the latter, two or three volumes might suffice; for confiscation at least double that number would be necessary.

Confederate archives.—Great masses of Confederate archives are preserved in the Treasury and War Departments and the Library of

Congress. Of these the Journals of the Confederate Congress, in 7 volumes, have been printed by the United States Government as a Senate document, and the Messages and Papers of the Confederate President, with most of the diplomatic correspondence, have been published by J. D. Richardson, as a private enterprise, in 2 volumes. The distinctively military and naval papers have been exhaustively exploited for the great series of Official Records of the War. There remains a great collection of matter in which is embedded the detailed history of the Confederate administration in its financial, postal, and judicial aspects. That the printing of much of this matter is of the utmost importance to historical knowledge goes without saying. In just what form or order and on just what scale the enterprise should be undertaken are questions that can not be answered without a more exact knowledge of the contents of the Confederate archives than is derivable from Van Tyne and Leland.

Reconstruction.—The official documentary materials relating specifically to the problems and processes of Reconstruction have for the most part been printed. They are in the reports of the military commanders in the South or in those of the numerous investigations instituted by the two Houses of Congress; but while the quantity of printed material is very great it is scattered and hard to use, and might well be segregated and reproduced in a series of volumes expressing a coherent system. Such a series might begin with the general and comprehensive documents—e. g., the records of the Freedmen's Bureau, the report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction and that of the Joint Committee on the late Insurrectionary States, and the records of the five military districts created by the act of March 2, 1867. After such general matter, the series should present, State by State, the various executive and Congressional documents in their proper order and relations, with additional material from manuscript.

Whether as an appendix to such a series or in independent form, the complex mass of Congressional documents relating to the disputed Presidential election of 1876–77 should be reproduced.

Unofficial Papers.—The printing of a couple of volumes of wisely selected documents from the papers of Andrew Johnson, preserved in the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress, would be as great a service to historical science, for the period of 1861–1875, as could be suggested under this head. Selections from the papers of Chase, Holt, Trumbull, and E. B. Washburne in the same collection would have a similar value.

B. FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL HISTORY.

In the history of the finances and commerce of the United States the Government has done little toward preparing adequate presentations beyond statistical material, of which it has published much, but usually in an indigested form, and as called for by a special condition or emergency. The printed "sources" of this history are the same as belong to other subjects of administration, e. g., those embraced in the American State Papers. The unprinted material consists of the correspondence of the Treasury Department with its different agents throughout the country, and special reports on certain subjects, prepared for the information of the Department and not submitted to Congress, nor published unless specifically called for by either House

of Congress. The files of the Department are not complete, and from various causes material has been lost or destroyed.

In the destruction of papers the want of system pursued has been obvious. No one trained in history or connected with a collecting body like the Library of Congress has been detailed to examine the papers designated for destruction, with a view to retaining what is possessed of a historical character, and the existing files of the different departments are not as a rule subject to a custodian who has either the historical knowledge or the historical instinct.

In the American State Papers are the messages of the Presidents, the "Finance" official reports and statements, reports of committees of Congress, and memorials and petitions addressed to Congress on financial and commercial subjects up to the first session of the Twentieth Congress (May, 1828). While imperfect as to the earlier Congresses, this compilation is the fullest and most comprehensive in intention yet undertaken by the Government, but it is not as comprehensive as the subjects merit, and the form and arrangement leave much to be desired. Many papers are included which need not be reprinted, for their interest is not permanent and the published lists of the public documents make them accessible. It also includes many state papers of the highest importance, which could be again issued in more convenient form and with such editing and annotation as their value in history demands. Of a like character are 2 volumes on "Commerce and Navigation" and 1 volume on "Claims" in this series, both of which classes are carried out to 1823, under the same limitations as the "Finance" volumes.

Apart from this publication, what the Government has already done in this particular line has been largely called out for a special purpose and in connection with a particular measure. We have in mind only the more important of these publications; for a vast quantity of compilation has been performed by bureaus or individuals and printed by one House or the other of Congress, of little or no permanent value and involving a great waste of time and money. The unequal merit of this output makes it difficult to decide how far the entire field has adequately been covered.

Departmental regulations.—Laws are general in their description of functions and duties, and as a consequence there grows up in each department an amount of administrative rules and regulations which is essential to a proper interpretation of the results. Much of these regulations may be obsolete from the administrative standpoint, and so far as the Treasury is concerned it is doubtful if that Department even possesses a complete file of the circulars issued from its various divisions. A great deal of what is regarded as obsolete has distinct historical value. It represents the official interpretation of a law, and this interpretation has not infrequently been modified or set aside by a judicial interpretation when matters in dispute have been brought to a higher court. These regulations prescribe the rules and forms for keeping books and accounts, for making returns to the central bureau or Department, and embody administrative features or inside machinery of the Department. They frequently contain references to current political events which make it necessary to suspend old, or introduce new, methods. We need only instance the days of the embargo, a period of war with a foreign country, the operations of the various national banks, and the questions involved in the civil war, to indicate how important these often temporary regulations may be.

We do not know of any partial compilation of this material, and a publication would involve a selection according to subject or according to the periods of time. Tariff, internal taxation, navigation laws, governmental currency, and public loans would be among the more important financial subjects. The framing of tariff laws, the enforcement of embargoes or trade restrictions, the interpretation of the various tariffs, and the operations of national banks and subtreasury would lend themselves to a treatment by periods of time. Only an examination of the material could enable a judgment to be formed, which method would be the better, but it may be easily seen that if a continuation of the American State Papers were contemplated there is abundance of valuable new material for the series on "Finance."

As to the debates of Congress and the larger number of Congressional documents, a series of references to the more important discussions on finance, and a note to an important report or paper giving the dates of discussion and action taken in both Houses, would be sufficient.

Private papers.—The material contained in private papers can hardly be neglected in compilations on economic subjects, and especially when these papers are in the possession of the Government. It is only necessary to name the series of the Papers of the Presidents in the Library of Congress to indicate the importance of their contents—Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Jackson, Polk, Pierce, and Johnson. To these should be added the Robert Morris, Hamilton, Gallatin, and Corwin papers. Not only do they often give the exchange of notes on financial and commercial propositions, but they are rich in correspondence on these subjects with leading authorities in the States. To carry out the plan consistently, reference should be had to published papers, biographies, and memorials of those who had an important part in framing important financial measures, or who had gained reputation in executing them. As instances of such material may be named the biographies of Morris, Hamilton, Gallatin, A. J. Dallas, Van Buren, Chase, and Fessenden; and the memoirs of McCulloch, Boutwell, and Sherman. This material is constantly growing in bulk and in importance. A judicious selection from the different collections would be of advantage.

Reports of the Secretaries of the Treasury.—The most important compilation for financial history should be that of the reports of the Secretary of the Treasury. In 1837–1851 a partial compilation of the reports was made and printed in 6 volumes. Not only is it very incomplete, but it is a mere compilation to 1849. Nor is the publication in the American State Papers any more satisfactory, though much fuller, and embodying all the then known communications from the Secretary of the Treasury to Congress down to 1828. In the new compilation, which might come down to 1865, or even to 1879 (the one being the end of the war, the other being the resumption of specie payments), there should be references to other documents and reports, illustrative notes, and a careful editing out of what was merely formal, temporarily, and nonessential. Such a compilation would not require more than 6 or 7 volumes, and would naturally form the great source of information on the finances.

Other desirable compilations of State Papers on special topics would include:

(*a*) The finances of the War of Independence.

(*b*) The Holland loans.

(*c*) War finance, 1812–1816, 1846–1848, 1861–1865.

(*d*) Tariff legislation. A compilation of the laws, made by R. G. Proctor, was published in 1898, but a new compilation should contain references to memorials and petitions, debates in Congress, and special reports on the subject. A legislative history of each tariff act would be valuable.

(*e*) Banks—national.

(*f*) Coinage, and bullion production and movement.

(*g*) Currency, treasury notes, greenbacks (legal tenders).

At least one volume would be required for each of these subjects, and this limit would be exceeded in three of the items. The exact number of volumes would depend upon the plan of editing.

Foreign commerce.—The materials for a history of the foreign commerce of the United States exist in large quantities and almost entirely in manuscript form. We know of no recent compilation which gives the full text of commercial treaties and reciprocity agreements, with such correspondence as led to the framing of the contract and the legislation involved. It is true the influence of treaties of commerce has been strongly felt only in comparatively recent years, the formal and limited commercial treaty of the past affording safeguard to trader and merchandise in foreign countries. But the consular correspondence in the Department of State is a rich mine of material relating to commercial relations with other countries since 1789 and is a mine as yet untouched. These relations were often diplomatic as well as commercial, and would thus fall more properly in the diplomatic section. But in themselves they would give a full picture of the treatment accorded to American commerce throughout the world, and trace from the colonial beginnings the growth of over-sea trade and the upbuilding of an export trade that has always been essential to American economic development. Unfortunately the papers of the different custom-houses, which could supplement this consular correspondence have been for the most part destroyed.

The trade of the great rivers and the general movement, inward and outward, demands something more than the mere figures, and the additional facts could only be obtained from the original papers. The perfunctory compilations of trade returns, which prevailed before 1867, and which have been printed in various places, are not sufficient for historical purposes; and the destruction in large part of the original returns makes it impossible to complete the record.

On commerce and commercial relations may be suggested the following compilations:

Consular reports from 1789—to be selected.

Commercial treaties and reciprocal agreements.

Special reports by experts on commercial conditions.

It is impossible to estimate the number of volumes needed, as the material is now in more than one department.

Internal commerce.—The American State Papers, Finance, contains some statistical material for internal commerce, extending to 1828. The Treasury Department's series of Reports on Internal Commerce begins in 1876; the reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission in 1887. The Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance adds new material and regroups it for historical use. More recently the divisions of the Department of Commerce and Labor, especially the various branches which deal with navigation, steamboat inspection, light-

houses, coast and geodetic survey, the census, and statistics, make reports which show what could be done in constructing an historical series to serve as the preface to these later publications. The secondary authorities, using state as well as federal material, should be utilized in presenting the material for early periods. Newspapers would yield supplementary data. Moreover, there are archives not yet exploited, such as the manuscript collections of the collector of the port of New Orleans, recently saved from destruction and now preserved in the Library of Congress, which furnish much original material for the history of the commerce of the Mississippi Valley before the days of the railroad.

C. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY.

The field of economic and social history, outside of finance and commerce, is one of peculiar difficulty, due to its extent, to the comparatively recent recognition of the importance of the economic and social aspects of American history, to the recent date of establishment of various governmental bureaus dealing with the divisions of the field of this report, and consequently to the lack of federal archival material upon some of them. Yet it must be remembered that the United States has been primarily a peaceful nation, and that its contributions to history lie in the field of industrial and social development quite as much as in that of political institutions, and much more than in the field of war or foreign relations; and it is also to be observed that the movement, the whole world over, toward a deeper study of economic and social history, is likely to manifest itself, indeed is already manifesting itself, in the United States. It is so important to promote an understanding of the present United States through a study of the most significant documents illustrating its development that a committee which aims at looking well forward into the future need not hesitate to set forth ideals which are not capable of immediate realization. Our statement of ideals will be followed by a view of what is most practicable and advisable for present work, shaped in accord with the proposal, made on a previous page, of a continuation of the American State Papers.

The ideal.—Hitherto the United States Government has confined itself to the publication of materials in its own possession. But in many fields of economic and social history the maintenance of this restriction would result in a most partial and misleading presentation of the facts which historians seek. Prior to recent activity in collecting and publishing certain sorts of data, e. g., on labor and on agriculture, federal material is lacking. In several such fields no really instructive bodies of data can be set before the reader without at least laying under contribution the materials, in manuscript and in print, oftentimes rare, possessed by the States. Furthermore, though some objections arise against going outside the bounds of official documents, federal or state, there are some subjects whose adequate illustration requires resort to private materials. We believe that the United States Government should soon organize its historical work in such a shape as to employ trained investigators in collecting as well as selecting material. The French Government's Commission on the Economic History of the French Revolution (a most important body, whose work is described by P. Caron in the American Historical Review for April, 1908), includes such search among its functions.

Meanwhile in the United States a great amount of such collecting is being done by the Department of Economic Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington, and by the American Bureau of Industrial Research, at Madison, Wis. The former will print many materials in its Contributions to the Economic History of the United States. The latter has devoted itself with great success to the collection of original material relating to industrial history, especially that of labor movements, and to the judicious selection of portions for publication. Thus, it has ready a volume of documents, collected from all kinds of sources, showing the typical features of the antebellum southern plantation and of industrial society on the frontier; another composed of the original reports, etc., of the early labor conspiracy cases down to the first great labor movement of 1836, and others exhibiting the organization and actions of labor unions, employers' associations, and workingmen's parties in that and subsequent eras. The work of these two bodies shows the practicability, under proper expert control, of such collection and organization of material as that which we have declared to be in some fields desirable.

In the framing and conduct of any such ideal scheme an important question would be that of the reprinting of what is already in print. It is much more important to print that which has never been printed before. Yet the mass of the printed public documents of the United States is so unwieldy, and to many investigators so inaccessible, as to make it difficult to use them for purposes of industrial history. Though there is at least one good collection of the Congressional series in almost every State, there will always be a use for more manageable series in which the cream of the material valuable for history has been set aside. If in one somewhat voluminous collection we could have such a selection of documents as this, along with references to the complete series and skillfully compressed statistical matter, and the best of the additions that could be made from federal, state, and private manuscript, the gain to vital history would be very great.

Suggestions for the present.—But without expecting the immediate realization of all these hopes, we are earnest in urging that in any large project of government historical publication, such as that continuation of the American State Papers which we have recommended, a liberal and modern view be maintained toward those aspects of national development which found no recognized place in the old collection. Practical considerations may seem to require that such a continuation should be mostly made up of federal official documents rather than those of state or private origin, of manuscript or rare print rather than of the easily accessible, and of papers bearing date subsequent to about 1829. But it would be a harmful pedantry and an unwise economy which would hold rigidly to either of these three criteria. Some documents anterior to 1789 will deserve inclusion, even though in 1829 they seemed unimportant; some that are already accessible in print will need to be inserted in order to have them at hand for comparison with fresh material; and if relative completeness requires the insertion of some papers not actually possessed by the Federal Government, they should not be excluded. We proceed to some description of the various proposed series—old series continued or new.

Geography.—The history of a new country plainly calls for such a subdivision. The series would naturally include unpublished or rare reports of exploration or selections from them, topographical surveys which might be used for historical purposes, and especially selections from surveys undertaken to prepare the way for internal improvements. Obviously purely technical details should be omitted. The earliest important exploring expedition overland, that of Lewis and Clark, has been given so complete a documentary publication by a private enterprise under the editorship of Dr. R. G. Thwaites that nothing remains for the Government to do in this connection, but there are other explorations for which material doubtless exists which should be examined with a view to publication. Possibly some portions of the reports of explorations for the Pacific railroads might be republished for the light cast upon early conditions in the trans-Mississippi half of the country. Van Tyne and Leland (p. 203) note certain letters on this subject which should be examined. Other material for the series could probably be derived from the files of the Coast and Geodetic Survey in the Department of Commerce and Labor, the Bureau of Soils and the Biological Survey in the Department of Agriculture, and the topographical Bureau in the War Department.

Lands.—There is no subject more fundamental in American history than that of the public lands. Donaldson's The Public Domain (Washington, 1884) needs revision and continuation. This might well take the form of a continuation of the Public Land series of the American State Papers, with fundamental documents, and analysis and condensation of statistics; maps showing the successive stages of survey and opening of lands to settlement; documents illustrating corruption, drawn from testimony in cases, etc.; leading opinions, departmental and judicial; data exhibiting in brief the processes of transfer to States, from States to corporations and individuals, and from railroads to European and American settlers; selected colonial and State laws which will show the origins of the federal system; and, since American democracy is largely to be explained in terms of land tenure, some materials illustrating the general conditions of landholding in other areas than that of the federal domain. Van Tyne and Leland's Guide, especially pages 219–225, shows what a mass of material is to be considered and the need, visible in many fields, of expert departmental advice upon plans for its exploitation.

Agriculture.—The annual reports on agriculture began in 1841; prior to 1862 they were printed as part of the report of the Commissioner of Patents. The Department of Agriculture, from the time of its establishment, has printed much, and there are indexes to its publications from 1841 down. But for the earlier period, and for the significant features of the history of American agriculture, the student must use state agricultural society and departmental reports, periodicals, and descriptions by travelers and others, such as the anonymous American Husbandry (London, 1775) and J. F. W. Johnston's Notes on North America (1851). Particularly this dearth exists prior to about 1840, but in many respects much later. Inasmuch as agriculture has been the dominant industry of the greater part of the United States through most of its history, it is desirable that collections should be made from such sources as those just men-

tioned and that a series should be published, gathering together the most fundamental accounts of American agriculture and exhibiting the changes and migration of its principal crops by such documents and by compendious statistics. Many phases of American social and political history find their explanation in agricultural changes. The place of cotton cultivation in American economic and political life is a sufficient illustration; but the statistics of wheat cultivation by periods and regions would also throw much light on national history. The development of agricultural machinery, the changes in methods of production in general, the relation of agriculture to transportation and currency problems, and similar topics should be included. Like reasons call for the inclusion in such a series of analogous data of the earlier period respecting animal industry, the history of the forests and the timber industry, and of fisheries and mining.

Manufactures.—Probably the census is a sufficient historical publication from 1850. Despite the imperfection of previous censuses, it may be found that enough material exists in accessible print to illustrate sufficiently the development of manufactures from the end of the American State Papers, Finance, 1828 to 1850.

Labor and industrial organization.—Here the case is like that of agriculture. The reports of the Commissioner of Labor begin in 1886, and these and the Bulletins are a mine of material from that date. But for the earlier period there is need of documentary collection and publication. There are some Congressional committee reports available, such as data in connection with tariff, panics, etc. The most striking illustration of what can be done by well-conducted collection of documents on the history of a given labor topic is E. Stewart, Early Organizations of Printers, Bureau of Labor Bulletin 61. It collects documents from all sources, selects the more important, and furnishes brief introductions. The work of the American Bureau of Industrial Research, mentioned in a previous paragraph, shows the practicability of a series which shall rest upon unofficial sources and treat the period neglected by the Government. The development of business organizations, corporations, etc., stands on the same basis.

Transportation and Post-Office.—It would be well to continue to the end of the civil war period the publication in compact form of documents bearing on the Post-Office similar to those found in the volume of the American State Papers devoted to that subject. They cast much light on the economic growth and social development of the country, and would be valuable in many branches of historical work. But the immense development of transportation since 1829 makes it even more desirable to furnish documentary material respecting it, especially in its earlier stages. Select documents illustrating plans and legislation for internal improvement, the early development of steamboat navigation, of railroad building, chartering, state and federal regulation, railroad consolidation, and the rise of the transcontinental systems could be so brought together as to have great value.

Indians and negroes.—The series of the American State Papers devoted to Indian affairs should be continued on similar lines. There is likewise need of collected documents relating to the negro and the actual economic workings of the institution of slavery. Other subjects of population and social organization are susceptible of similar treatment, but can not at present be satisfactorily developed.

D. DIPLOMATIC HISTORY.

Existing printed collections.—For the period 1775–1783 we have Sparks's Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution and Wharton's Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence, a fairly satisfactory collection. For the next period we have the Diplomatic Correspondence of * * * 1783–1789, seventy-five years old and far from complete, though it contains nearly all that the Government possesses. The American State Papers, Foreign Relations, cover the period from 1789 to 1828 after a fashion, but are nearly confined to correspondence sent to the Senate from which the Senate had removed the injunction of secrecy. A careful estimate, based on many days of painstaking inspection by a member of this committee, is to the effect that while about one-half of the existing manuscript diplomatic correspondence of these forty years consists of material that ought now to be in print, only about one-fourth is actually to be found in the volumes of the series named. Between 1828 and 1860 there is no single series of volumes containing the diplomatic correspondence or other materials on our diplomatic history. The documents are found in the series of Congressional documents under differing titles. Few libraries have them all, and they are so scattered as to be hard to use. Moreover, they embrace isolated, selected papers, such as it suited the President or the Secretary of State to send to Congress. From 1861 we have the annual issue, in general one volume each year, of papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States.

The period from 1775 to 1783.—We have for this period documentary collections that are fairly satisfactory, but at some future time the situation might be improved. In one important particular the character of this period would justify an enlargement of the scope of diplomatic publication which could hardly be defended for the period subsequent to 1783. After that date it would not be prudent to recommend the inclusion of large masses of material from foreign archives. However desirable it may be to exhibit the "other side" of diplomatic controversies and actions, it would be felt that, in the main, it is for foreign governments to publish their own archive material. The exceptions should be limited to a small number of significant documents necessary for the elucidation of American materials. But this limitation hardly applies to the period ending with the treaties of 1783, the period in which the United States was struggling for independence through a war involving several other countries and through negotiations which can not be followed save by using the archives of all these lands, yet which were of vital importance to the establishment of this nation. Such conditions will some time be held to justify a monumental edition of the diplomatic papers of the Revolution, an edition which would include the thousands of documents that are to be found in the European archives. The archives of Spain, though of intense interest, are almost untouched. From the French archives we have not obtained much save what Doniol has permitted us to have in his Histoire de la Participation de la France à l'Établissement des États-Unis d'Amérique (Paris, 1886–1900). Stevens's Index in the Library of Congress would indicate the amount and the situs of all the material—English, French, Spanish, or Dutch. A part of it is already possessed by the Government in the form of transcripts, the extensive collec-

tion of so-called Peace Transcripts at the Library of Congress. The American material is, of course, in Washington, either among the Papers of the Continental Congress at the Library of Congress or in that section of those papers which was retained at the Department of State, in accordance with the executive order for the transfer, because of its relation to our diplomacy.

The period from 1783 to 1789.—The volumes printed seventy-five years ago, as mentioned above, were fairly well prepared and printed, except for an inconvenient arrangement. Though they are not procurable with ease, a new edition is not now in imperative need. Some time we should have a more thorough presentation of the American correspondence of the period which would also give at least the dispatches of the foreign ministers in this country to their home governments. There exists, in private hands in America, the Gardoqui correspondence, which would be of very great interest and service. The American Historical Review contains the correspondence of the Comte de Moustier with the Comte de Montmorin, 1787–1789.

The period from 1789 to 1828.—In most fields we have recommended that the American State Papers be simply continued from 1829, with such modifications of plan as later developments have made appropriate, but without much effort to go back beyond that date. But in diplomatic matters it is impossible to be content with what has been done in the earlier papers. Whereas the selection of material for the other series of that great work was effected by its editors, using their own judgment, generally sound, as to what was historically most important in the great masses which lay before them, the material in the "Foreign Relations" series represents in the main no principle of selection but the accident of communication to the Senate and the officials' judgment as to what it was expedient to make public at the time. The papers thus printed are by no means in all instances the most important; frequently delicate and significant subjects are omitted from the special line of dispatches or instructions; often the most valuable and illuminating portions of particular documents are omitted and the less useful portions are printed. It appears, then, that we should have in print the diplomatic correspondence for this period (1789-1828), and the only proper method is to disregard the folio edition of the American State Papers, to reprint what appears there and to add other material; this additional material may make the whole, as has been intimated, twice as great in quantity as it now is.

If the estimate approaches accuracy, it should be possible, with judicious editing, to print the diplomatic correspondence and other closely related material throwing light upon our diplomatic history to 1828 in 12 or 13 volumes like those of the American State Papers. Unimportant documents could be calendared and very unimportant ones only listed.

The period from 1828 to 1861.—It is when we enter the period after the ending of the American State Papers, however, that we encounter the need that is most evident and imperative. From 1828 to the outbreak of the civil war, a time of great activity in foreign affairs, the diplomatic correspondence was printed in the regular Congressional series of publications, generally among the House or Senate executive documents. There were some four hundred such publications, relating to

diplomatic affairs, in the period from 1829 to 1861, besides the diplomatic materials which the President, after 1833, frequently appended to his annual message; but the manuscript materials are still more ample. Now that the United States has become more deeply interested than ever before in its own diplomacy and the progressive development of its foreign relations, it would be of very great service to all students of history, to the workers in the Department of State and the diplomatic and consular service, and to other persons interested in practical political affairs to have the diplomatic correspondence of this and the preceding period properly arranged and published in a new series, "National State Papers, Foreign Relations, 1789–1861." One might hope that discreet editing would bring all the important material for the later period within the compass of 20 such folio volumes as those of the American State Papers. We believe that, of all the subdivisions of the proposed National State Papers, this is the one that could best be taken up first.

E. MILITARY HISTORY.

In the portion of its work relating to materials for military history the committee has been greatly aided by a detailed memorandum kindly supplied by Maj. Gen. F. C. Ainsworth, Adjutant-General of the United States Army.

Leaving out of account all records relating to the personnel of the regular and volunteer armies, and taking up first of all the material relating to military operations, we consider only military archives of such general historical interest or value that, if they have not been heretofore satisfactorily printed, they should be made accessible to historians and investigators generally by publication. The records to which special interest attaches are those of (*a*) the Revolutionary war, (*b*) the war of 1812, (*c*) the war with Mexico, (*d*) the civil war, (*e*) the war with Spain, and, in a somewhat lesser degree, (*f*) the several Indian wars, and (*g*) the Philippine insurrection.

Many of the official reports and much of the correspondence relating to military operations during those periods have been printed at some time in the Annual Reports of the War Department, in the series of Congressional documents, or in other government publications. The publications in which historical data relative to military operations during the later wars are to be found can be pointed out readily; but for the earlier wars the finding of such publications is a more difficult task, because of the incompleteness and the imperfect cataloguing of those publications.

Practically all reports and correspondence on file in the War Department having general historical interest or value relative to the Philippine insurrection of 1899–1902 have been printed in the Annual Reports of the War Department for those years, with supplementary matter in other Congressional documents easily found in the catalogues of public documents and accessible in many libraries. The same is true of the war with Spain in 1898, while all such material, Union or Confederate, relative to the civil war has been printed in the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, disseminated to the extent of 11,000 copies. Nothing more could be recommended in respect to any of these.

War with Mexico.—The reports of the Secretary of War for 1847 contain reports and some correspondence; more is to be found in other Congressional documents, especially Senate documents and House executive documents of the first session of the Thirtieth Congress. But these government publications containing the military records of the Mexican war are so disconnected and some of them so difficult to find that it is believed they should be reprinted, together with any heretofore unprinted historical military archives of that war that may be found. The Military Secretary (now the Adjutant-General) of the Army, in his Annual Report for 1906, reported that the collection of military records of this war, now in the possession of the War Department, was as complete as it could be made; that it would make about 6 volumes of 1,000 pages each, of the same general style of the Official Records of the Civil War, costing about $11,000 each for printing and binding; and that the series could be made ready in a very short time after such publication was authorized by Congress. It was his belief, and it is that of this committee, that the first action with a view to the publishing of the War Department archives should be directed to the printing of the Mexican war records.

The war of 1812 and Indian wars.—The published military archives of the war of 1812 are more incomplete than those of the more recent wars, but some military correspondence and reports relative to it are printed in the American State Papers, Military Affairs, in Brannan's Official Letters, in the Public Papers of Daniel D. Tompkins, and in The War, Niles's Register, and other periodical publications of the time. Historical data with regard to military operations during the Indian wars prior to 1838 are to be found in the American State Papers, Military Affairs, and (to 1827) Indian Affairs, while material relative to many later Indian wars is to be found in the Annual Reports of the Secretary of War. All these publications are incomplete and fragmentary. While the Government possesses a great mass of manuscript material relating to these wars, so much of what is necessary to complete the records remains in the hands of States, historical societies, or private individuals that the first work must properly be one of collection or copying of outlying records. The mass of what is now in hand would make fewer volumes than in the case of the Mexican war, but printing should be postponed until the Government's materials are more complete.

Revolutionary war.—The same is even more true of the War for Independence, the military record of which is now only partially covered by Force's American Archives and many state publications. Acts of Congress approved July 27, 1892, and August 18, 1894, provided that all military records of the Revolution and the war of 1812 then in any other of the executive departments should be transferred to the War Department and there properly indexed and arranged for use. Fourteen years have passed since the second of these enactments. Under existing conditions at the War Department, their effect has been to make these materials entirely inaccessible to historians, as may be seen by a perusal of the regulations of 1897, printed in Van Tyne and Leland (pp. 110–113) and still in force. Those regulations provide for proper supply of information to persons seeking pensions or admissions to "patriotic-hereditary societies," but close the archives of the War Department absolutely to American historical investigators. Meanwhile, such records of the

Revolutionary war as are possessed by the Department have been indexed and arranged for use, but the collection is so incomplete that no one could advise its publication as a whole. Certain series, such as the general orders of General Washington, could be published complete at present. But for anything analogous to what has been done for the civil war and is proposed for the Mexican war, a publication embracing reports and correspondence in as complete extent as possible, further copying and collection is desirable before printing. We speak only of materials respecting military operations; in the publication of muster rolls and the like this committee as such has of course no interest.

In military history, as in diplomatic history, impartial historical writing demands that one should not confine himself to the witness borne by one combatant only. The true historian will wish to hear the other side and as completely as possible. Without use of the archives of Great Britain, France, Mexico, and Spain our government historical publications will have an ex parte character, much to be regretted. That the deficiency should be supplied by those countries is not to be expected, since to Great Britain, France, and Spain in particular these wars have been but episodes relatively brief in the long centuries of their history. If it is not to be expected that publication of foreign papers on these wars should be undertaken in full extent by the United States Government, at least the editors of our military-historical volumes should have the opportunity to study the relevant materials in foreign archives and to incorporate in their volumes some of the most significant papers thence derived.

It is not to be forgotten, however, that the military archives of the United States contain much else than simply the records of its military operations. The army was so largely the advance guard of American civilization in its westward march across the Continent that the archives contain a great wealth of material for the understanding of pioneer conditions and the early history of all parts of the United States but the Atlantic seaboard. Surveys, explorations, early routes to transportation, relations with the Indians, the founding of forts and military posts out of which cities have grown, all receive so copious illustration from these archives that it would be a narrow-minded policy to confine publication from them to papers of purely military interest. They have a large part in all work upon our social history.

F. NAVAL HISTORY.

Printed documents respecting our naval history are chiefly to be found in Force's American Archives, The American State Papers, Naval Affairs, the British Naval Chronicle (1798–1818), Brannan's Official Letters (1823), Goldsborough's Naval Chronicle (1824), Niles's Register, the Canadian Archive Reports, Cruikshank's Documentary History of the Campaigns upon the Niagara Frontier, the annual and occasional reports of the Secretary of the Navy, Reports and Dispatches (1849), and the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies now in course of publication by the Government. But other very important documents must often be sought in places widely scattered. The court of inquiry asked by Commander Elliott, in 1815, upon his conduct on Lake Erie, is printed in one unofficial

work; Perry's voluminous specifications against him, in 1818, in another—neither by the Government; both are necessary to the historian. The British minister, Mr. Foster, wrote to Monroe reams upon the questions then pending between the United States and Great Britain; but a document printed in the life of the Marquis of Wellesley, his Instructions to Foster, sets forth the British position on the continental system with a succinctness, logic, and force nowhere else to be found.

Further publication should for the present be confined to the military activities of the Navy, to the postponement of civil and administrative papers. In view of the extensive publication of naval records concerning the civil war, now proceeding, we see no reason for recommendation, unless it be that the "Letters from Foreign Consuls" (United States consuls abroad) mentioned in Van Tyne and Leland (pp. 190, item 26), should be printed. They touch on the blockade and kindred matters, and the blockade was one of the most important military measures of that war. The letters referred to represent in a degree its external aspect.

From the brief duration and limited action of the war of 1898 with Spain and from the voluminous publication already made we infer that the greater part of the documents are already in print, though at some time a fuller publication of telegrams may be desired, since the part which the cable played in this war was exceptionally great.

Turning to the earlier naval conflicts, it is profitable to remark that there are in every war conspicuous features which should in part determine the course and nature of research. Thus, in the war of 1812, we have, first, the prevalence of battles between single ships, owing to the vast inferiority of American naval strength; second, owing to the same cause, the completeness of the blockade of the American coasts, producing an exhaustion of means in the midst of plenty, a financial catastrophe, which compelled peace without obtaining the formal concession of any one of the points for which the nation went to war; third, the fact that naval preponderance on the Great Lakes, whether established by victories, as on Erie and Champlain, or held in uncertain balance by a cautious policy of shipbuilding, as on Ontario, protected the northern border of the United States and rendered fruitless the British land operations in that region. Now, whenever it is possible to recognize beforehand such determining features, a clue is placed in the hands of the searcher of archives as to what is comparatively important to print.

Revolutionary war.—The United States Navy, despite the brilliant action of Paul Jones and one or two others, exercised no effect upon the outcome of the war, except upon Lake Champlain, in 1776. The American control of that lake in that year postponed the British invasion to 1777, entailing thus the decisive consequences of Saratoga and its sequel in the French alliance. The documentary history of the operations on Lake Champlain, therefore, deserves fuller treatment, in which, besides the papers already printed in the American Archives and elsewhere, attention should be directed to additional papers possessed by the United States Government, state governments, the British Public Record Office, and the Archives of War and Marine, in Paris. In several other parts of the conflict land and naval operations were so closely interwoven that the papers relating to them should be fused into one whole. The actions of privateers

were often brilliant, and in the mass they influenced the result, but our Government has few of the necessary materials for their history, and it is doubtful if the matter can be illustrated by any general documentary publication.

Tripolitan war.—As the Barbary pirates were the immediate originating cause of the United States Navy, the hostilities against them derive thence an interest to our naval history quite beyond their petty scale or military value. To illustrate the subject properly, it should be considered as a whole, from the depredations on American shipping, immediately after our protection by the British navy ceased, down to the conclusion of the peace of 1816. Documents should be selected to illustrate the depredations, the tribute paid by us to the several Barbary powers, our dependence on Portugal for protection, the dismay felt when Portugal made peace with the pirates, the legislation authorizing a naval force, the actual hostilities, including Decatur's action with the Algerine naval vessels in 1815. References, at least, might well be inserted to the already printed debates of Congress touching the institution of a navy; they are a part of naval history, broadly considered.

Closely allied with these topics is the general question of Mediterranean commerce, and that of the gunboat system of Jefferson. It is probable that the "Captains' letters," "Commanders' letters," etc., still mostly unprinted, would give much incidental light upon Mediterranean trade and piratical depredations, from which the Mediterranean littoral suffered much more than the United States shipping. It does not appear that the gunboat system has ever been illustrated by adequate and systematic publication. Yet, though utterly inconsequent in itself, the system has historical importance, because, under Jefferson's influence, it stunted the rising navy, and so at the least aided to bring on the war of 1812.

War of 1812.—The documents printed in the American State Papers, Naval Affairs, are incomplete and unsatisfactory from the historical point of view. The series of "Letters received" and "Letters sent" in the Navy Department should be carefully gone over for the years 1810–1816, inclusive, attention being specifically directed upon (1) the single-ship actions, which have obtained in popular recognition an esteem which we can not properly disregard; (2) upon reports of officers commanding naval stations, as to the blockade, and operations of the enemy's vessels on the coast, including especially all transactions in the Chesapeake; (3) upon the general history of preparations and of action upon the Great Lakes. When army and navy are both engaged, as in the Chesapeake and on the Lakes, military correspondence will sometimes contain an essential part of a common programme, or one side of a dispute. Pertinent documents in Niles's Register and similar publications, the originals of which are not in the files of the Department, should be either included in the publication or adequately referred to.

The log books of United States vessels, where preserved, may furnish data or importance, although log books of that day, British and American, are commonly scanty in information. Court-martial records are far more valuable. The proceedings of the court held on the survivors of the *Chesapeake* have not been printed. The same is true of the courts on the officers of the *Guerrière*, *Macedonian*, and *Java*, and those of the British squadrons defeated on lakes Erie and

Champlain. All these are very full and necessary to any historian discussing the actions. The instructions issued by the British Government to its officers, both military and naval, seaboard and lake, are as essential to an understanding of operations as are those of our own Government.

War with Mexico.—In the way of fighting, the Navy in its proper sphere had little to do in this war, for there was no Mexican navy. But the transactions on the west coast, having to do with the acquisition of the territory ceded by Mexico, are of national importance.

In naval material the principle that it is not enough to consult the materials possessed by one side is emphasized by the almost invariable naval practice of holding a court-martial in any case of serious disaster. The result of this procedure is the accumulation of a mass of sworn testimony by expert eyewitnesses. Few questions are asked of victors; they tell their story much as they will; the vanquished must furnish explanations, and at large. The beaten side thus furnishes the better field for the historian.

SUMMARY OF CHIEF RECOMMENDATIONS.

The enterprises which in the course of the preceding survey have been recommended with most emphasis, and which we regard as having the leading claims for early undertaking, are the following:

Commissions and Instructions to the Governors of the American Colonies.

State Trials.

Papers of Andrew Jackson.

National State Papers, continuing the old series of the American State Papers, Foreign Relations, Finance, etc., and adding new series for Agriculture, Manufactures, Labor and Industrial Organization, Internal Commerce, etc.

Official Records of the War with Mexico.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS.

From the detailed survey which has preceded, it is obvious that we are still far from having all the documents that we need for satisfactory dealing with the great problems of American history. The gaps in its published records are many and important. The sum total of the desiderata we have indicated is a formidable one, involving voluminous publication, great editorial labors, and much expense. But we can not too strongly insist that in bringing together the materials for a rational and scientific programme we are not advocating the immediate execution of all its parts. To attempt the whole at once, to attempt any part of it without deliberate consideration, in which should be invoked the judgment both of experts within the departments and qualified historical scholars from without, would be to invite disaster. We have endeavored to point out what needs to be done. It is no part of our purpose to enlist the Government in extravagant schemes; our desire is rather to pave the way to a procedure whereby, without greater expenditure upon documentary historical publications than at present, a product may be secured which will meet more fully the needs of the Government, of historians, and of the public, and be a source of credit to the nation. It should be possible, with due regard to all these interests, to select, from among

the many enterprises that we have signalized as desirable, those which call most loudly for immediate execution. Such qualitative or comparative judgments we have in many instances attempted to suggest, and in the last preceding section have emphasized the projects we deem most important. The final determination as to what should come first we deem it expedient to leave to a permanent commission, which we earnestly hope to see established.

A large part, if not all, of the hoped-for product could be, as we have said, grouped under the general title "National State Papers," an extensive collection embracing several series. According to our conception of such a collection, its various series and volumes should follow a uniform plan. Editors chosen for their special competence in the fields respectively covered should go over all the material, printed and unprinted, domestic and foreign, possessed by the Federal Government or not. They should then include or exclude documents deliberately, and in obedience to principles carefully thought out in the case of each of these classes of material—principles which have been suggested on previous pages of this report. They might list with proper references many documents whose full texts they deemed it inexpedient to print. They should supply brief introductions to their volumes, and such headnotes or footnotes to the individual documents as might seem requisite for their identification, but no elaborate explanatory annotations. Their volumes should be supplied with tables of contents, indexes, and typographical arrangements ensuring convenience in using the books. The noble series of the American State Papers is evidence that seventy-five years ago the American Government appreciated abundantly the usefulness of historical material to the life of a young nation. The opening years of the twentieth century should see a revival of this solicitude on the part of a nation much more mature and vastly more rich, but none the less in need of the teachings of history.

We believe that in view of the intimate connection between archives and historical publications it is not stepping out of our province to request the earnest attention of the Committee on Department Methods to the serious situation of the Government in respect to the storage of its records and papers. Vast quantities of material, some of it valuable historically, much of it worth great sums of money to the Government, are annually "colonized out" by departments into outside buildings, unsuitable and unsafe, and in which it is practically impossible to consult them. This evil has been often commented on by careful heads of departments. We strongly recommend, as the only remedy, that a National Archive House be built and that the earlier records and papers of the administrative departments be segregated and stored in it, under modern and scientific arrangements, as soon as is possible. We further recommend that Congress be requested so to modify its laws respecting the destruction of departmental papers as to insure that papers no longer useful for administrative purposes be not destroyed without giving some expert person, such as the Chief of the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress or the head of the future archive establishment, the opportunity to preserve such as still possess historical value.

But since no suitable and adequate system of management for the documentary historical publications of the Government can be main-

tained without having a constant means of invoking the aid and counsel of those best qualified to judge, we make it our chief recommendation that, the present temporary committee having done what it could to point out needs and suggest general views and plans, Congress be requested to provided for a permanent advisory Commission on National Historical Publications. We ask leave to make certain recommendations as to its organization and procedure, based on the experience and practice of countries older than ours in historical work.

SYSTEM PURSUED BY OTHER GOVERNMENTS.

In seeking for the ideal mode of governmental procedure in historical publication we can derive much instuction from the experience of European governments. It can be conceded without shame that they have preceded us in this pathway, and though much of their historical work lies in the medieval field, which has methods peculiar to itself, much of it lies in the field of modern history and furnishes close analogies to the tasks lying before us. They do not spend more for historical work than we. Some years ago, when a systematic attempt was made to obtain figures for the comparison, they were spending considerably less. Great Britain was then spending about $75,000 per annum for the preparation and printing of documentary historical volumes; Russia about $50,000; France about $30,000; Germany and Prussia, for preparation alone, not prints, about $23,000, while the United States, then at the height of its expenditure for the Official Records of the War, was spending in such ways more than $250,000. But the uniform impression of historical scholars is that the European governments get a better and larger product for their money. In part, this result is due to the lower rates prevailing in Europe for the compensation of learned workers, but in the main the superiority is due to a more scientific organization.

What makes the experience of European governments the more instructive is that at the beginning their course was marked by the same absence of plan which has marked that of the United States Government to the present date. Volumes of historical material were printed simply because some official or some private individual succeeded in persuading the legislature of the time to provide for them. Their genesis and succession were casual, their execution good or bad, as the consciences of editors might determine.

In general terms, it may be said that those nations which have emerged from this unsatisfactory régime and developed an adequate mode of dealing with the problem have done so by intrusting the planning of historical series and the supervision of their execution to permanent special commissions of historical experts, qualified to judge what materials, hitherto unpublished or imperfectly published, would be most useful to the advancement of historical science.

The government which first adopted this plan was that of Great Britain, which, by various commissions (1800–1837), kept in existence for many years a body of officials and scholars charged with the execution of such enterprises of documentary publication as they deemed most important. After bringing out a large number of folio volumes these commissions ceased to exist, and the later British series, the Rolls Series, Calendars of State Papers, and other calendars, have been produced under another system. For fifty years these publica-

tions have been nominally under the charge of the master of the rolls, whose ancient title connects him with the records, but who is really an equity judge. Practically the whole matter has usually lain in the sole control of the deputy keeper of the public records, who has doubtless had the advice and aid of the assistant keepers. The system is not one to be recommended, providing, as it does, no regular means for bringing to bear upon the problems the opinions of historical scholars outside the archive staff. Its present effect is the confinement of publication to calendars, lists, and indexes, a restriction possible in a country where distances from the original manuscripts in the Public Record Office are short, but inapplicable to the case of the United States. Better models of organization and procedure are to be found on the Continent than in England. It may be mentioned, however, that for one particular portion of its publications Great Britain has an Historical Manuscripts Commission of thirteen, several of whom are historians; and that the Canadian government in 1907 instituted a similar but smaller commission, which is to plan and supervise the historical publications of the Dominion quite after the manner usual on the Continent.

In 1834 Guizot, then Minister of Public Instruction in France, instituted what has since been called the Committee of Historical Works, consisting at first of from nine to eleven members, charged to direct the preparation and publication, for the Government, of volumes of unpublished materials for the history of France. More than 250 volumes have been issued by the committee; the quality of the whole would have been better if more pains and thought had been expended at the beginning in framing a comprehensive and well-reasoned plan. In 1874 an additional commission, Commission on Scientific and Literary Missions, was established under the same ministry, with the object of searching for data—historical, philological, etc.—to be found in foreign lands. In our country this function is mainly performed by the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington. Another special commission, whose operations more closely resemble what would be appropriate to the circumstances of the United States Government, the Commission for the Publication of Documents on the Economic History of the French Revolution, has been fully described by one of its chief members, M. Pierre Caron, in an instructive article in the American Historical Review for April, 1908.[a] It was established in 1903 and, on account of temporary circumstances, was given a separate existence from the Committee of Historical Works. The Commission consisted at first of 28 members, and now consists of 45, but its work is mostly done by an executive committee of 7, all of whom are noted historical scholars. It has formed subsidiary committees in each department of France, and has furnished them from time to time with instructions which are models of the kind. It has shown great activity, and has published rapidly, perhaps too rapidly, a large series of octavo volumes, about 10 volumes per annum.

In the same year (1834) in which Guizot's original committee was appointed, the new Kingdom of Belgium established a Royal Commission of History, which, with somewhat widened functions, sub-

[a] "A French cooperative historical enterprise."

sists to the present day, and has performed notable services in publication. Perhaps, however, the most famous of such commissions is that which in 1858, at the instance of Ranke, Sybel, and Waitz, King Maximilian II, of Bavaria, established in connection with the Bavarian Academy.[a] To this commission we owe more than a hundred volumes of the best-edited historical material that Germany has produced.

Commissions of this form have come more and more into favor in the German states, and have increased rapidly in recent years. A particularly successful one was established in Baden in 1883. Württemberg founded one in 1891, the province of Styria in 1892, the Kingdom of Saxony in 1896, the Prussian provinces of Westphalia, Nassau, Hesse, and Saxony in 1896–1898. With these, with the commissions more recently established by the Thuringian states, Alsace and Lorraine, and with the very active Commission for the Modern History of Austria, founded in 1901, one may fairly say that such commissions have become the accepted mode in the country in which the editing of historical documents has received its most scholarly development.

Hungary also has a historical commission of the same nature. Russia has both the Commission for Printing Letters Patent and Treaties, founded in 1811, and the Archæographical Commission, of broader scope, founded in 1834. Italy has had, since 1883, in the Italian Historical Institute, an organization designed both to supervise the collection entitled "Sources for the History of Italy" and to act as a clearing house for the provincial historical societies and commissions.

But perhaps the best model of such national commissions is furnished by that which the Queen of the Netherlands instituted in 1902, consisting of ten eminent historical scholars and entitled Commission of Advice for National Historical Publications. Warned by the experience of some commissions previously established in other countries, this Dutch commission proceeded, before engaging in any scheme of publication or definitely resolving upon them, first to make a general survey of the different periods and parts of Dutch history, with an eye to the question, What serious gaps existed in the documentation that could be filled by the publication of materials hitherto unprinted? They brought out a careful and detailed report entitled "Survey of the Gaps in Dutch History to be filled by Documentary Publications."[b] They decided which of the various projects should be taken up first. Continuing in office as a permanent committee of advice, they framed singularly judicious regulations for the execution of such works—regulations from which much could profitably be borrowed for American use—and they have produced several excellent volumes in their projected series.

In the composition of such commissions as those which have been described above as the usual machinery of governmental historical work in Europe the European governments have often taken advantage of the existence of national historical institutions, associations, or

[a] Its history is related in Die Historische Commission bei der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Munich, 1883).

[b] Overzicht van de door Brunnenpublicatie aan te vullen Leemten der Nederlandsche Geschiedkennis (Hague, 1904); see American Historical Review, Vol. XI, p. 433.

academies, especially in those countries in which national academies have a large share in the general control of intellectual interests. Thus the directing committee of the Monumenta Germaniae Historica, the chief series for German medieval history, consists of nine members, appointed by the royal academies of Berlin, Vienna, and Munich. The Royal Historical Commission of Belgium is chosen on nominations by the Belgian Academy from among its own members. Of the Munich Historical Commission, three members must by statute be members of the Bavarian Academy, and in practice several others are. The commissions of the most recent model usually consist of an archive official or two, specially competent in history, of historical professors in the universities, and of men prominent in the work of the chief historical organizations of the respective countries. In the United States, which has no national academy of the historical and philological sciences, the obvious analogue for such purposes is the American Historical Association, incorporated by act of Congress in terms inclusive of precisely such services.

It is also necessary to bear in mind the peculiarities of our archive system. National archives have a natural history of their own. Their regular course of development is to proceed from a state of things wherein each government office keeps its own papers to one wherein all papers not recent and not needed in current administrative work are concentrated in one great historical repository. Great Britain, with its all-engrossing Public Record Office, and Belgium and the Netherlands, so far as national, as distinct from old provincial, repositories are concerned, stand at one end of the scale of development. The archives of Berlin are less concentrated, those of Paris and Vienna, with their combination of national archives and archives of ministries, represent a still lower stage of the normal progression, while those of St. Petersburg are almost as much scattered as the British were before the Public Record Office was created. Now, readers of Van Tyne and Leland's Guide to the Archives of the Government in Washington do not need to be told that the archives of the United States stand at the foot of the scale in respect to concentration. There is indeed only one instance (that of the Department of War) in which archives embracing the papers of a whole department have been concentrated into one archive. Each bureau, sometimes each subdivision of a bureau, preserves its own records; there are more than a hundred such repositories. While it is certain that the mere exigencies of space in departmental buildings will before many years lead to the creation of a central depository of some sort, it is essential at present, in devising plans for proper supervision of the Government's historical output, to have regard to the fact of separate departmental control over most portions of the manuscript material. It is also needful to bear in mind the utility, when so many of the proposed publications lie within the domain of a single executive department, of invoking in all such cases the expert aid of the department's own officials.

SUGGESTIONS FOR A PERMANENT COMMISSION ON NATIONAL HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS.

Composition.—We recommend that Congress be requested to pass legislation in accordance with which the President shall appoint from among the members of the American Historical Association eight or

nine persons of the highest standing for scholarship and judgment in the field of United States history, to serve as a Commission on National Historical Publications; and we suggest that the executive council of the American Historical Association be requested, when vacancies occur, to propose nominations for the action of the President.

We recommend that Congress be requested to make annual appropriations for the work of compilation and printing sufficient to ensure the issue of at least 10 octavo volumes per annum of the publications which such Commission may recommend, or, upon an estimate, $100,000 per annum for compilation and printing.

Meetings.—Let it be provided that the Commission hold two stated meetings each year in Washington, and other meetings when called by the chairman with the approval of three other members;

That the members of the Commission receive such compensation as Congress may think fit, and that a suitable appropriation be annually made to defray the expenses incurred in attending their meetings and the clerical expenses necessarily involved in their work;

That the Commission arrange its members into committees of three upon materials possessed respectively by the executive departments and the Library of Congress; and that in each department and the Library of Congress a committee of three be appointed by the head of the department or the Librarian of Congress to act, under the conditions set forth herein, with the respective committees of three formed by the proposed Commission.

Operations.—Proposals for volumes or series of documentary historical materials to be published by the Government should come before the Commission in one of two ways—(*a*) on the initiative of the Commission, or (*b*) on the initiative of one of the departments. Let it be provided that the following procedure obtain in these two cases respectively:

(*a*) In the former case no proposal shall be considered at any meeting unless a full explanation by its proposer, stating reasons, giving a plan, estimating the magnitude of the proposed undertaking, and suggesting an editor, shall have been transmitted to the chairman or secretary of the Commission two months before the meeting and promptly distributed in duplicate to all the members.

If approved by a majority of the Commission, the proposal, if it relates to materials possessed by one department or the Library of Congress, shall be referred to the committee on that department, which shall call into consultation the committee of three appointed as above in that department, or the Library of Congress. If, however, the proposed volume or series would be composed of materials possessed by several departments, the Commission may proceed to its preparation after such consultations with those departments as may seem appropriate.

(*b*) If from the committee of three formed as above in any department proposals for such volumes or series of documentary historical materials shall be made to the chairman of the Commission, he shall request details of a sort mentioned above, shall send them in duplicate to the members of the committee on that department, and after one month shall call for their opinion, in writing, if there be question of one volume, or if a series of volumes is proposed shall refer the matter to a meeting of the whole Commission.

No new publication of documentary historical materials shall be hereafter undertaken by any department or the Library of Congress unless the proposal has received the approval of a majority of the editorial committee of that department or of the Library of Congress and of a majority of the appropriate committee of the Commission.

The Commission shall make general regulations as to the form of publication and the details of editing and execution, which rules shall be laid before the President for his approval before going into effect, and shall report annually to the President, in October.

By some such plan as this we believe the Government can secure a steady output of creditable historical work, based on competent and farseeing deliberation, and answering the needs of the present and the future; and we do not believe that such a product can be obtained without supervision of substantially the character and extent that we have indicated.

In case it be deemed expedient to appeal to Congress for legislation enabling procedure like that described above to be carried out, we submit herewith a draft of a bill which embodies our views of what is essential in the constitution of such a permanent commission:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President be authorized to appoint, with the advice and consent of the Senate, from among the members of the American Historical Association, nine persons of the highest standing for scholarship and judgment in the field of United States history, to serve as a Commission on National Historical Publications, and to have authority to defray, out of such appropriations as may be made to said Commission, the cost of preparing and printing such volumes of material for American history as it may deem most useful.

Respectfully submitted.

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The COMMITTEE ON DEPARTMENT METHODS.

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